DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 389 466 PS 023 870

AUTHOR Harkonen, Ulla
TITLE Written Text Conceptions of Female Child Care Personnel about Girls' and Boys' Work and Mothers' and Fathers' Work Education.
PUB DATE Sep 95
NOTE 29p.; Paper presented at the European Conference on the Quality of Early Childhood Education (5th, Paris, France, September 7-9, 1995).
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Early Childhood Education; Essays; Foreign Countries; Parent Child Relationship; *Preschool Teachers; Sex Differences; *Sex Role; *Sex Stereotypes; *Teacher Attitudes; *Work Attitudes
IDENTIFIERS Finland

ABSTRACT

This study examined the conceptions of Finnish child care personnel about girls' and boys' work, as well as fathers' and mothers' work education, based on a mail survey of 317 female preschool teachers chosen from the register of the Kindergarten Teacher Association. The subjects were asked to write an essay about the subject "a girl doing work, a boy doing work, a mother as a work educator, and a father as a work educator." The survey found that the teachers attached so-called "women's work" to girls more often than they attached such work to boys, and that they attached "men's work" to boys more often than they attached such work to girls. There were more mentions relating to positive attitudes to work by girls than by boys, according to the essays, and more mentions of mothers doing children's work education than fathers doing such activities. More than half of all work education units represented traditional, gender-segregated work education, according to the essays. (Contains 99 references.) (MDM)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)
X This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.
• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
Ulla Härkönen
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

ED 389 466

Ulla Härkönen
University of Joensuu, Teacher Training College of Savonlinna
PL 55, 57101 Savonlinna 10, FINLAND
fax: +358 57 21060

WRITTEN TEXT CONCEPTIONS OF FEMALE CHILD CARE PERSONNEL ABOUT GIRLS' AND BOYS' WORK AND MOTHERS' AND FATHERS' WORK EDUCATION

IINTRODUCTION

The study is based on the definition of work education, derived from the ecological approach (Bronfenbrenner 1979). According to this, work education comprises micro-, meso-, exo- and macro-level phenomena. **Work education**, according to the definition I have developed (Härkönen 1991b), **means any educational influence on children through the presence of work in culture and society. This influence is mediated through social and human relationships and the child's own work and activities.** The children here referred to are those of under school age. This study is devoted to early childhood work education.

The work present in the child's external life is divided into out-of-home and in-home work. Out-of-home work covers the work related to vocational and leisure time activities. In-home work means household chores, work related to children's upbringing and work education, and leisure time activities at home. Boys' and girls' own work is studied both at the home environment and out-of-home day care environment.

The ecological definition of work education makes it possible to examine the division of labour (e.g. Anttonen 1994; Kauppinen-Toropainen, Kandolin 1993) and equality (e.g. Rantalaiho 1994; Saarinen 1985) in children's work education. According to Haavio-Mannila (1993), the traditional gender-based division of labour is still predominant in Finland, in spite of equality-oriented efforts (see also Haavio-Mannila 1971; 1975; 1983a). Work and related phenomena, such as the gender-based labour division, are mediated

PS 023870

to children through socialization (e.g. Alanen 1981; Liljeström 1982; Damon 1988; Weinreich 1978,20), gender identity (Huttunen J. 1990; Sayers 1984;1987), adoption of gender roles (Maccoby 1966) and stereotypes (Ashmore 1981; Ashmore, DelBoca 1981). The division of labour and power within the society and the mediation of the social gender are influenced by acculturation processes (Bourdieu 1985; Giroux 1983), hidden curriculum (Broady 1987) and possible resistance (Drotner 1986; Leavitt 1991; Rinne, Kivinen 1984; Willis 1984).

Equality has officially been defined as a social and educational goal in Finland Act on Equality between Women and Men (609/1986) and Act amending the Act on Equality between Women and Men (206/1995). However, gender-based labour division that supports disequality (Hirdman 1990a; Julkunen, Rantalaiho 1989; Liljeström 1986) is mediated to children at an early age. Work education is a most important activity that can purposefully be changed (Hirsjärvi 1980; 1981) to promote equality as early as the pre-school age when basic adoption processes take place (Keskinen 1994; Sayers 1984;1987).

The empirical part of the research discusses the **conceptions of child care personnel** about the two aspects included in the definition of work education: children's own work and adults' work. The conceptions analysis has been conducted within the phenomonographic framework (Marton 1981). As to the assumptions between conceptions and social reality, the analysis rests on objective hermeneutics (Oeverman etc. 1979, 1983) based on the text interpretation method (Karjalainen 1991a; 1991b; Karjalainen, Siljander 1993; Siljander 1987; 1988; 1991; 1995; Siljander, Karjalainen 1991), which is in accordance with the phenomenographic approach (Marton 1981) adapted for this study.

Social reality is understood as a cultural product of the human community and social structure, where meanings and relations are most important properties (Oeverman etc. 1979). According to Karjalainen and Siljander (1993,335,339; Siljander 1995) meaning gives an understandable structure to an activity. Man adopts 'the

grammar' of a culture through socialization in inter-action relations. Texts under study are supposed to generate from the meaning structures of the culture, in so far that these texts have an internal regular meaning structure, which in itself is independent from an interpreter's intentions. According on this 'realistic assumption', it is possible to find through the interpretation of these texts the meaning structures of social reality.

AIM OF THE STUDY

The aim was to find out the conceptions of the Finnish female child care personnel about girls' and boys' work, as well as fathers' and mothers' work education. The study tries to analyze the nature of those conceptions and their relationship to equality of genders. The importance of work education in early childhood is also emphasized. (More on Finnish pre-school education and day care, see Hujala-Huttunen, Järvi (1995) and Ojala (1989,87-118; 1991.)

PROBLEMS

1. What are the conceptions of female child care personnel about girls' and boys' work like?

2. What are the conceptions of female child care personnel about fathers' and mothers' work education like?

3. How do the contents of different conceptions of female child care personnel about girls' and boys' work, and mothers' and fathers' work education could be presented in models?

4. What are the shares of different work educational models in separate batches of data and whether the respondents' place of residence, occupation, age, educational background or the time of data collection are reflected in their conceptions?

METHOD OF RESEARCH

The data was collected from six object groups (N=335). They consisted different kind of female child care personnels: municipal child-minders, kindergarten teachers, household assistants, day care assistants and child nurses.

All previous data was collected during training courses, where the researcher was acting as a teacher. Data batch 6 was collected as a postal questionnaire covering the whole of Finland, including 500 female kindergarten teachers, chosen from the register of the Kindergarten Teacher Association (n=11651) by equal interval sampling. The return percentage was 58% (n=290). Written answers were invited only from those kindergarten teachers, who had actually been working in 1994. There were 141 such persons among those who answered. 130 written essays were received of which 129 could be analyzed. Thus, the actual loss was 12 answers. The age of the respondents corresponded well to the sample (n=500) and the population (n=11651), and was close to the Savonlinna group 1986 age division, being slightly older. In all, 317 answers were received from all the six groups, the total loss being 18.

The respondents were asked to write freely during half an hour about the subject "A girl and doing work, a boy and doing work, a mother as a work educator, a father as a work educator". The question was the same to all groups.

The data was subjected to three different analyses. Analysis 1 is the content analysis method, proposed by Pietilä (1976). Analysis 2 is the qualitative classification of contents and its verbal description. Analysis 3 is an overall evaluation of the answers. The observation unit in Analysis 1 is the smallest thought unit. The content description (Analysis 2) is based on joining together the parts of qualitatively categorized texts. The overall evaluation (Analysis 3) is based on the qualitative evaluation of answers so that the observation unit is the whole text written by a person. The Savonlinna 1986 data is the original material for the study. This data has been subjected to all three methods, whereas

other data batches have been subjected to an overall evaluation. So all the batches were studied by the method of Analysis 3. The results of the analyses were compared with each other and with the previous information about the corresponding phenomena.

In order to ensure reliability, classification criteria and a system of premises for the evaluation was prepared, parallel ratings were made, classification minutes drawn up and follow-up data collected for certain parts. In the case of parallel ratings the similarity of classifications was high. The results can thus be treated as reliable.

RESULTS

As the basic point, it must be understood that the results describe the conceptions of female child care personnel. Only quantitative results based on the analysis of texts are presented here and their possible connections to social reality are dealt with in the discussion section.

A detailed analysis classification of the Savonlinna 1986 data (Batch 1) is made on the basis of the data. Therefore the classification levels belong to the results of the study (Uljens 1989,55;1991,98). The conceptions of the child care personnel are divided into eight categories: girls' work tasks, boys' work tasks, girls' attitude to work, boys' attitude to work, mother to daughter work education, mother to son work education, father to daughter work education and father to son work education.

1. Conceptions of female child care personnel about girls and boys doing work.

In the answers of the child care personnel there are more mentions of girls' work tasks than boys'. They attach to girls so-called women's work to a very great extent, much more than to boys. Some of the so called men's work is also attached to girls, but clearly less than to boys. A lot of women's work is attached to boys, but

less than to girls. Many mentions are made of boys also doing a lot of men's work, clearly more than girls. Boys get more experience of women's work than girls of men's work. The texts attach, all in all, to boys much more extensive and diversified experience of work than to girls. Girls get more profound work experience in women's work, but in general this experience is narrower and more one-sided than that of boys.

The texts of the child care personnel show that girls' work experience of work environment is home-centered and thus narrow and one-sided. Girls have some experience of out-of-home work environment, but for girls the work environment is basically one-poled. Boys' work experience of work environment are both home-centered and strongly out-of-home environment oriented. Boys' work environment is wide, diverse and two-poled.

In the texts, there are more mentions relating to positive attitudes to work by girls than by boys. Girls' negative attitude mentions are quantitatively less than those of positive attitude. Girls' attitudes to work are evenly good and problems are not great. Boys' attitudes have two aspects: on one hand - great desire to work, on the other - negative attitudes that are quantitatively as strong as positive attitudes. Boys have ambivalent attitudes to work.

2. Conceptions of female child care personnel about mothers' and fathers' work education

Quantitative analyses. The answers of child care personnel show that there are many more mentions of mothers doing children's work education than fathers. The same gender parent has been attached to a girl or a boy more often than the parent of opposite gender. The importance of both the mother and the same gender parent is emphasized especially with boys. As to boys the difference between mothers' and fathers' work education mentions is small, but nevertheless their work education is mother dominated.

The texts about work education bring forth that children's

work education is mostly taken care by mothers, thus being primarily feminine. The masculine principle can also be seen in the texts, but it is of secondary importance. Masculinity is seen in fathers' lesser role in work education mentions as compared to mothers, and in relatively strong inter-relation between fathers and boys. The mentions in the text show a quantitative difference in socialization between boys and girls.

How do different conceptions of mothers' and fathers' work education relate to the pursuit of equality of genders? A detailed analysis (Analysis 1) of the Savonlinna 1986 data (Batch 1) reveals that more than half (56 %) of all (mothers' and fathers') work education units represent tradition supporting work education which is here called gender segregated work education. This is mostly observed in the mentions about work education given to children by the same gender parent and less in case of the opposite gender parent work education. The highest degree of gender segregated work education appears in the case of the mother and the daughter. In the texts, mothers tend to give more gender segregated work education than fathers, even if in fathers' work education mentions the share of gender segregation is higher than in that of mothers.

Approximately one fifth (21 %) of the work education mentions in the texts presents the kind of work education aiming at breaking away from traditional work education, and is here defined as gender segregation conflicting work education. More of it eminates from mothers than fathers. In the texts, the importance of mothers is specifically underlined in sons' work education. Boys are more often connected to gender conflicting work education than girls.

Less than a quarter (23 %) of the work education mention units represent gender segregation relieved work education. Fathers are more often attached to gender relieving work education than mothers, girls more often than boys. Fathers' significance to daughters is seen as important. For sons the significance of both parents is about the same in this respect.

How do different work education conception contents can be described? As a result of qualitative classification, the contents of conceptions about equality related work education have also been described verbally. In each work education description - gender segregated, gender conflicting and gender relieving - the classification consists of 1) general principles of work education, 2) aims and experience, 3) nethods, 4) descriptions of the mother and father as work educators, and 5) the means of work education from the girl's and boy's viewpoint. The content analysis (Analysis 2) of the Savonlinna 1986 data shows that the factors sustaining the segregation of genders are even stronger than what the above results of the quantitative analysis are.

3. Modelling of different conceptions about girls' and boys' work and mothers' and fathers' work education

Three work education models, describing the conceptions, have been built by combining the results of Analysis 1 and 2 and by making deductions. The models describe the conceptions of child care personnel as to work, work environment, attitudes to work and work education especially in relation to equality.

The model that is the furthest away from the goals for equality describes gender segregation most strongly. More than half of all opinions of work education support gender segregation and traditional values. In the gender segregating model home chores are basically women's work, being feminine (Huttunen J. 1990) by their nature. Mostly mothers educate children for work. Education is directed both on girls and boys, though quantitatively it is more directed to girls. Work done outside the home is mostly men's work, being masculine (Huttunen J. 1990) by its nature. In this area fathers primarily educate boys. In the gender segregating model the environment, work and mutual relationships support within the gender system the efforts to keep the sexes apart. (See e.g. Hirdman 1990a; Liljeström 1986.)

The second model gives an average description of the category

of equalization. The opinions that represent conflicting work education make up about one fifth. In the gender conflicting work education model home chores include both women's and men's work. In home chores femininity and masculinity are present, though femininity is stronger. Home chores are done by mothers and fathers, yet more by mothers. Both mothers and fathers educate children for work, though mothers more than fathers. Both parents educate both children, however, mothers give more attention to girls and fathers to boys. In the work outside the home there is men's and women's work. Fathers do men's work that is masculine by nature, and mothers do women's work that is feminine by nature. Both give work education to girls as well as boys, even if fathers pay more attention to boys and mothers to girls. In this model the environment, work and mutual relationships support segregation according to the gender agreement, but to a certain extent this model makes it possible to have equalizing inter-relations.

The third model describes gender relievance most strongly. Opinions representing gender releasing work education form about one fifth of those given by child care personnel. In the gender relieving work education model home chores are characterized by co-operation that can have both femininity and masculinity. Both mothers and fathers do home chores and together educate girls and boys for work. In the outside the home work both mothers and fathers are active. Work is characterized by both femininity and masculinity. The work is not divided according to the gender, fathers and mothers cooperate in educating girls and boys to work equally. In this model the environment, work and mutual relationships do not support the division according to the gender, but make co-operation and joint responsibility possible.

4. The share of work education models related writings in different batches, and the relation of different factors to the conceptions.

All six data batches have been analyzed with the overall per respondent analysis method (Analysis 3), in which each essay was

evaluated as representing either gender segregated, gender conflicting or gender relieving work education. According to the analysis, gender segregated work education writings vary in different data batches between 57-78 %, conflicting work education is 18-32 % and gender relieving work education is 4-11 %. The per respondent analysis gives, as does the contents analysis (Analysis 2), a much bigger share of gender segregated work education and a smaller share gender relieving than the per thought unit analysis in Analysis 1. For example, in the Savonlinna 1986 data there are 70 % of gender segregated, 24 % of conflicting and 6 % of gender relieving answers, whereas in the unit Analysis 1 the figures were 56 %, 21 % and 23 % respectively. The summed-up results of all data batches shows that of the texts of child care personnel about 60 % represent gender segregated, about 30 % conflicting and about 10 % gender relieving work education model.

The place of residence of the respondents does not have any significant connection with the child care personnel's conceptions of equality. The data from Savonlinna, Kemi or Vantaa do not differ significantly. Nevertheless, when comparing this data with that of the whole country, it can be observed that Savonlinna represents a more traditional, Kemi a more equal and Vantaa the most equal environment. The data collected from the sample of kindergarten teachers all over the country represents most strongly equality, but are evidently opinions of a selected, perhaps non-representative, group of respondents.

The conceptions of different vocational groups do not differ significantly, not even in different times. The per small unit (Analysis 1) and qualitative Analysis 2 of the Savonlinna 1986 data shows small differences, according to which the conceptions of municipal child-minders were slightly more equalizing than those of kindergarten teachers. The conceptions of day care assistants split into gender conflicting and gender relieving. The conceptions of home care assistants were often gender segregated and e.g. men were held in high esteem. In the overall evaluation of the answers there were no significant differences between different vocational

groups.

In reference to educational background, it was noticed in the thought unit analysis of the Savonlinna 1986 data that the most formally educated persons, the kindergarten teachers, were not the most equalizing, even if they wrote the longest essays and tackled the most complicated phenomena. In the same analysis, the household assistants, the more elderly and somewhat less formally educated group, represented most of the traditionality. The 1994 data from the whole country received from kindergarten teachers, represents the greatest share of gender relieved conceptions, but the respondents were perhaps not a representative group.

The connections of age to conceptions were analyzed in the data batch of the kindergarten teachers from the whole country. The group of over 50 years of age represents primarily gender segregation and the middle-aged respondents mostly gender equality striving, yet conflicting work education. The youngest group of under 29 years of age represents again the gender segregated approach, although in this group there is a small number of gender conflicting and gender relieving writings. In the descriptions of gender segregation there is no clear difference between the age groups.

The data was collected during eight years. The contents of the essays have not changed essentially. In 1993 and 1994 there have appeared issues like economic depression, unemployment, and new-helplessness, but only in small quantities. It is difficult to see any changes in the conceptions towards equality, because certain factors influence and vary in different data batches at the same time. However, it is possible that the gender role and equality in work education conceptions of child care personnel have remained stable during these eight years.

DISCUSSION

It is important to realize that in the empirical section the analyses have been made from the texts which reveal the conceptions

of child care personnel. They can be perceived as creating a text world which is being examined. However, it must be understood that the conceptions in the texts do not represent only the opinions of the writers. They are diverse descriptions of the experience and observations about the real world surrounding child care personnel.

The approach to the study is qualitative, to be more exact - phenomenographic, but the number of classified units has been counted and the results compared. In Analysis 3 the significance of certain differences has been calculated. The results present the division of the number of units in texts and the information of units has also been described.

There are two questions to be considered as to the interpretation of results which are associated with validity. The first question is: Can any quantity oriented assumptions be drawn about the conceptions of child care personnel on the basis of the number of mentions or should only the division of conceptions or probable descriptions of their contents be presented? The conclusion is that these assumptions can be made, however, on certain conditions and upon reflection. This is supported by the examination of the **significance** of the quantitative results of Analysis 1 in Analysis 2, where the texts have come under extensive scrutiny. Analysis 3, in which there was a great number of texts (317) and in which the whole texts were taken as units, also supports the conclusion. There might also appear a case where the entity shows different results than the quantitative analysis would foretell. In practice, this conclusion means that if e.g. in the essays of child care personnel here are more units of mother-daughter household chores than mother-son chores it can be said that "according to child care personnel the mother does more chores with the daughter than with the son". The arguments have been checked with the texts as units. A second evaluator has also read the texts.

The second question is: Can assumptions based on the conceptions be drawn about social reality? The conclusion is that on certain conditions and upon reflection this can be done. This

conclusion is based on the realistic assumption chosen as a methodological basis (e.g. Karjalainen, Siljander 1993; Siljander, Karjalainen 1991) according to which conceptions generate from social reality. Previous results on conceptions related to real phenomena support strongly this assumption. The interpretation of results is based on the assumptions made.

In the conceptions of child care personnel - and on that basis probably in reality - **small girls and boys have 'a division of labour according to the gender', corresponding to the division of labour among the adults** (e.g. Anttonen 1994; Kauppinen-Toropainen, Kandolin 1993). Children are socialized at quite an early stage to the adult gender division of labour. Socialization also directs girls' and boys' future work. Girls' work and the names of their games have connections to women's work and boys' work and the names of their games have connections to men's work. Girls' and boys' work done together also corresponds to women's and men's work done together. This has been shown in earlier studies (Gabrielsen etc. 1983; Hågglund 1986; Kandolin 1993,5; Kauppinen-Toropainen etc. 1988,15-26; Kärrby 1987; Niemi 1984b,45; Suomalainen perhe 1994; Vehviläinen 1982) as well as by the results of the present study.

According to the conceptions of female child care personnel also the small girls' and boys' **work environments** have been gender segregated. This corresponds to the results of earlier studies that point out how home centered girls are (Lips etc. 1978; Whiting, Edwards 1976) and how boys are oriented towards the outside world (e.g. Bjerrum-Nielsen 1985; Chafetz etc. 1974).

In the texts, written by child care personnel **the attitudes of girls to work** are similar to the stereotype characteristics related to girls (see e.g. Bjerrum-Nielsen, Rudberg 1988; Keskinen, Hopearuoho-Saajala 1994; Strandell 1993). They are on a par with the qualifications necessary in women's work (see Lehto 1988;1991) and the stereotype characteristics related to women (see Huttunen J, 1990; Tarmo 1989). The attitudes towards women's work and stereotype characteristics relate in the minds and observations of child care personnel to small girls at quite an early age. The

situation is parallel with men and boys.

According to the conceptions of child care personnel, **gender segregation is expressing in mothers' and fathers' work education** so that girls and boys are raised differently in accordance with the traditional gender roles. The type of gender segregation and the ways of approach correspond to earlier results of studies on socialization, upbringing and work education (e.g. Einarsson 1986; Keskinen 1993;1994; Safilios-Rotschild 1986; Tornes, Ve 1980). Gender segregation also realizes in the mother-father labour division, in asymmetric parenthood (Julkunen, Rantalaiho 1989). The mother gives more work education than the father (see Härkönen 1991b; Nummenmaa 1986; Stranden 1982).

Work education conceptions have been compared in relation to equality (Aitta 1988a;1988b; Huida etc. 1993; Rantalaiho 1994) through which new information has been received. Child care personnel sees mothers' and fathers' work education as mostly gender segregating. It is conflicting to some degree, but also slighty gender relieving. Qualitative descriptions of the contents have been made from the conception of child care personnel.

According to the results mothers sustain gender segregation more than fathers. The reason is that they participate in work education more than fathers and thus transmit gender based labour division. However, fathers emphasize segregation in their quantitatively less work education. Although mothers are shown to be more tolerant than fathers as to gender roles (e.g. Maccoby, Jacklin 1974; McBroom 1984; Nummenmaa, Vanhalakka-Ruoho 1985), mothers influence is stressed. In addition, the texts show mothers' influence on sons and fathers' on daughters in equality.

The conceptions of child care personnel have allowed to produce qualitative gender segregated, conflicting and gender releasing work education descriptions, which have also been presented as models. These models show that children's work education is formed not only through inter-action between adults and children. According to the orientation of this study, work education models show that the aspect to which gender roles are

linked in work education descriptions are the following: **persons**, shown to work (mother, father, girl and boy); **work** someone is said to do (women's work, men's work, common work); **environments** to which the person and work are linked (in-home environment and out-of-home environment); **types of attitude** the person is supposed to have (positive, negative and neutral; feminine, masculine), and how these factors are related to equality or the values linked to the pursuit of equality. These **values** are realized in different ways in the work education of different models: gender segregated, gender conflicting and gender relieving. Such models function, in accordance with Karjalainen and Siljander (1993,342), as regulatory system that generate social reality.

In the work education conceptions of child care personnel, according to Analysis 1 (if evaluated by separate thought units), the share of gender segregated work education is about 60 %, gender conflicting - 20 % and gender relieving - 20 %. While evaluating the answers as an entity (Analysis 3), the results are: approximately 60 % of answers represent a gender segregated model, 30 % gender conflicting model and 10 % gender relieving model. The results can be compared with the calculation made in this study but based on Haavio-Mannila (1984b,175), according to which in home chores (except child care) the share of families using the traditional gender segregated approach is 62 %, gender equality approach - 28 % and changed gender role approach - 8 %, no information 2%. In Nummenmaa's study (1980) almost 50 % of the families were jointly acting families. In this present study the share of conflicting and gender relieving texts is 40 % all together. In Finnish working life gender segregation becomes more prominent in almost 50 % of women and men work at totally segregated vocations, 9 % at non-segregated (Kandolin 1993,5) and a few per cent at vocations specially for the other gender (Kauppinen-Toropainen 1987).

The detailed method of analysis (Analysis 1) gives a somewhat higher share of gender relieving work education, the content analysis (Analysis 2) and the complex analysis (Analysis 3)

underline the share of gender segregation. The results complement each other, and they show with different degrees of accuracy the same meanings related to a gender role. The importance of Analysis 1 is in the fact that it helps to find accurately the respondents' opinions that promote equality, even if they are few. From the point of view of pursuit to equality, it is necessary that vocational personnel are conscious of their references to conflicting and gender relieving work education, because by strengthening the conceptions and solving conflicts between conceptions, it is possible to develop one's way of thinking and acting. Analyses 2 and 3 show the fact that the equality oriented thoughts that are a minority, which tend to get 'buried' under the entirety. This should be taken into consideration e.g. while planning vocational training.

The above mentioned percentages, concerning the division of child care personnel in relation to equality, are almost the same in different vocational groups educating children, at different localities and in all data batches collected at different times during the eight years. The 1994 data that covered the whole country, was the most conflicting, but the percentage of respondents was low and it can be assumed that they represented a selected group. Even higher formal education did not increase equality in the conceptions of child care personnel. During the eight years, when especially in Finland discussion around the Act on Equality (609/1986) has been going on, hardly any changes towards equality have taken place in the conceptions of child care personnel.

From the methodological point of view it is interesting to notice that the results, obtained by the use of the method of content analysis, are very much in line with earlier research results. For example, by calculating the frequencies of text units, it can be seen that child care personnel more often relate working to girls than boys which is in accordance with earlier results (e.g. Haavio-Mannila 1984b; Niemi 1984b) girls do more work than boys. In the respondents' essays there was large variation between

them, but the overall description is wide and gives a diversified picture of the collective conceptions. The results of the analysis of children's educators' conceptions coincide to an amazing degree with the results of earlier studies presented in the theory part of this study. As far as the results of earlier studies are supposed to give information about the so called social reality, it can be said on the basis of this study that the conceptions of child care personnel 'generate' from the phenomena of social reality that correspond to the objects of the study and which according to a realistic assumption are not dependent of the interpreter. (Karjalainen, Siljander 1993; Siljander 1995).

The theoretical yield of this study, besides methodological development, includes the use of a work education definition (Härkönen 1991b) based on the ecological approach (Brofenbrenner 1979). The definition has made it possible to relate children's work and work education to adult work, gender based labour division and equality goals. Socialization and other cultural adaption processes have been interpreted as phenomena influencing children's work education and partially belonging to it. Work education has been seen as a wider and more diverse phenomenon than before and at the same time the meaning of work education to girls' and boys' lives has come to the fore. The study has given information about children's work and work education that has been scanty (see Alanen, Bardy 1990;1991).

As a theoretical yield, one can consider as fruitful the application of the female research terms such as 'the gender system' and 'the gender agreement' (Hirdman 1990a) in early childhood research. According to the above terms, children's work education maintains the phenomena in question. In work education, mothers and female educators act as foremost socializers. As a result of their work girls in 'the children's gender system' are socialized into social secondness (Alanen 1981; Delphy, Leonard 1989; Kandolin 1993; Tolkki-Nikkonen 1983; Tornes, Ve 1980; Walby 1989; Zavalloni 1982) and boys, in spite of certain educational problems, rise to the top of the social power hierarchy

(Helmadotter 1989; Keskinen 1992; Sinkkonen 1992; Walkerdine 1981). In the theory part it has been pointed out that in culture men are appreciated more than women (Hirdman 1990a,78; Rantalaiho 1993b,12; Sinkkonen 1992,23) and that boys become at an early stage aware of their dominant position (Helmadotter 1989). This all might happen as an unaware process that female research refers to as 'the undeclared gender agreement', a sort of silent concession (Hirdman 1990a).

What conditions do female child care personnel accept? They concede to female and male segregation and the power hierarchy, dominant in the gender system, where the female gender occupies a lower level. But it must be noted that women alone do not make up this system - neither in education nor work education. Men's position in working life as well as their absence and secondary significance in work education are transmitted to children as is the position of women in working life as well as their presence and primarity in work education. In other words, the responsibility for the socialization related to work education and its consequences belong to women as much as men. This has not always been taken into consideration. For example, in relation to boy-projects, the only reasons for boys' dislikes were: female education and female educators (see Haataja 1992).

A conscious approach to education, aspiring towards equality, questions such children's education. It tries to increase the awareness of the gender role attitudes that educators and parents have and change their attitudes towards more equality of gender. Such a goal has great social significance, as this this study shows.

Educational discussion should tackle the question as to why gender based labour division is still maintained among children. The reason might be that the issue is not consciously understood or that a deliberate choice is made in the name of 'social consensus', 'educational consensus', 'family consensus', 'work place consensus' or 'consensus between genders'. It would be interesting to ask, how parents and child care personnel understand that they may be

educating girls to be submissive and boys to take the rule. This aspect has not only a social dimension, but a human rights and ethical dimension as well.

While evaluating mothers' and fathers' work education, girls' and boys' working, sterotype characteristics and the results of this study, it must be said that 'education works'. Girls and boys do what they are expected to do and they are what they are supposed to be. The cultural system of meanings functions quite successfully. Related to equality it maintains the traditional gender based segregation, hierarchy and the silent agreement upon the power of the male gender and the submissiveness of the female gender. Children's work education as 'an extension' of adult gender based labour division realizes the same meaning system that is inherent in the basic structures of culture.

However, it must be said that a share of child care personnel have a tendency towards equality. This becomes obvious specifically in their ideals, goals and wishes. They often contradict with reality, to the extent that they admit it themselves. The social reality of educators in relation to equality, in this case referring to children's work education, is problematic and contradictory. It is difficult for them to decide what should be done in order to have changes.

According to the results, only a small part of child care personnel has broken away from gender segregation. Their position may be conscious, but also neutral, unconscious, which, if strictly criticized, may not even represent relievance from gender roles. The study does not show how different respondents as individual persons have reached their points of view. However, the family is the central environment to which things are related.

It remains to be discussed, whether there is any movement towards increased equality in society, or if the traditional system itself continuously contains a certain amount of equality without causing any change in the basic structures (see Anttalainen 1986a).

If there is any tendency to change education towards equality, then it is possible, according to the orientation of this study, to

influence persons, work, environment, attitudes and values, influencing one factor, some of them or all of them. These factors do not only act in causal relations, but as a cultural system of meanings. Different factors acquire different meanings that are communicated to individuals and groups in inter-action relationships. Different attitudes of child care personnel to equality point out that there are different variations, even juxtaposing ones in culture. This shows that changes in desired directions are possible. The essays of child care personnel reveal that ideals and goals are not always sufficient to change behaviour. From the point of view of change all objects and levels are important. However, as to the training of child care personnel, it is crucial to be aware of one's conceptions as well as to observe one's behaviour and change it. This should also be a target for further development.

The adaption of gender role conceptions should also be tackled from the child's point of view. Children, living in both home and day care environment, most probably run into contradictory meaning systems, into the so called 'double socialization' (see also Lahikainen 1991; Lahikainen, Strandell 1988). Parents can have different opinions of gender roles and working. The respondents' conceptions of gender roles in children's work education can also differ to a great extent. This present study shows that in the conceptions of child care personnel gender segregating viewpoints form a majority and gender segregation relieved viewpoints a minority. Does in educational environments the power of the majority act in the way that gender segregating and gender relieving opinions as a minority get buried under the ways of the majority and the generally accepted way of behaviour? How do children handle these processes? Lahikainen and Strandell (1988;158,159) claim that we do not know what it means to be a child in the modern society. According to them, adults also suffer from the fading of values.

CONCLUSIONS

Only the conceptions of a limited number of child care personnel correspond to the goals of equality of genders. There is more aspiration for them in writings than in practical actions.

All vocational groups that work with children should in their training become familiar with the laws and declarations of equality and, subsequently, with equality education. This is the basis for creating diversified possibilities both for girls and boys. The significant influence and the inherent possibilities of work and work education should be pointed out. The contents of work education should be planned according to equality goals, so that child care personnel could consciously pursue these goals approved in our society and culture. It is necessary to see that teachers e.g. at universities are familiar with these goals.

In the future research should be oriented strongly towards equality-dominated changes. Act on Equality between Women and Men (609/1986) and Act amending the Act on Equality between Women and Men (206/1995) aim at women's and men's equal participation in social planning and decision making. According to the law (Act 206/1995, Article 4), the authority is obliged to promote equality. This is facilitated by establishing minimum quotas for genders in certain governing bodies. The Act (206/1995, Article 5) also states that education, research and teaching material should promote the goals of the Act.

The present study tries to promote the equality of the genders in two directions. The study underlines the significance of one of the pillars in early childhood pedagogics - work education -, and stresses the importance in transmitting the meanings of gender related activities to children. The study also emphasizes the possibilities of children's work education in achieving the goals of equality. This calls for the consciousness of child care personnel and changes in work education.

REFERENCES

Act on Equality between Women and Men (609/1986)
Act amending the Act on Equality between Women and Men (206/1995)
Aitta, U. 1988a. Miesten ja naisten tasa-arvon toteutuminen akavalaisessa työelämässä. Grafitex Oy. Helsinki.
Aitta, U. 1988b. Mitä naisten ja miesten tasa-arvo on? Tasa-arvoiset lähtökohdat vaiko tasa-arvoinen lopputulos? Akava 3/1988. S.12-13.
Alanen, L. 1981. Naisten käytännöt, kulttuuri ja sosialisaatio. Teoksessa Alanen, L.; Rantalaiho, L.; Saarinen, A. (toim.) Naisen historiallisuus. Yhteiskunta-yksilö-sukupuoli. Seminaariraportti. Tampereen yliopisto. Yhteiskuntatieteiden tutkimuslaitos. Sarja B:33. S.141-155.
Alanen, L., Bardy, M. 1990. Lapsuuden aika ja lasten paikka. Tutkimus lapsuudesta yhteiskunnallisena ilmiönä. Sosiaalihallituksen julkaisuja 12. Valtion painatuskeskus. Helsinki.
Alanen, L.; Bardy,; M. 1991. Childhood as a social phenomenon. National Report, Volume 36. Finland. European Center for Social Welfare and Research. Publicitas. Budapest. Hungary.
Anttalainen, M-L. 1986a. Sukupuolen mukaan kahtiajakautuneet työmarkkinat Pohjoismaissa. Tasa-arvoasiain neuvottekukunta. Naistutkimusmonisteita 1:1986.
Anttonen, A. 1994. Hyvinvointivaltion naisystävälliset kasvot. Teoksessa Anttonen, A.; Henriksson, L.; Nätkin, R. (toim.) Naisten hyvinvointivaltio. Vastapaino. Tampere. S.203-226.
Ashmore, R.D. 1981. Sex stereotypes and implicit personality theory. Teoksessa Hamilton, D.E. (toim.) Cognitive processes in stereotyping and intergroup behavior. Erlbaum. Hillsdale, N.J. S.37-81.
Ashmore, R.D.; DelBoca, F.K. 1981. Conceptual approaches to stereotypes and stereotyping. Teoksessa Hamilton, D.E. (toim.) Cognitive processes in stereotyping and intergroup behavior. Erlbaum. Hillsdale, N.J. S.1-35.
Bjerrum-Nielsen, H. 1985. Små flickor, snälla flickor, tysta flickor. Teoksessa Lundmark, L.E.; Stridsman, K. (toim.) Sen kommer en annan tid. Socialstyrelsen. Liber. Stockholm. S.69-95.
Bjerrum-Nielsen, H.; Rudberg, M. 1988. Hur flickor blir flick r och pojkar blir pojkar. Kvinnovetenskaplig tidskrift. I. S.28-43.
Bourdieu, P. 1985. Sosiologian kysymyksiä. Vastapaino. Tampere.
Broady, D. 1987. Piilo-opetussuunnitelma. Mihin koulussa opitaan Vastapaino. Tampere.
Bronfenbrenner, U. 1979. The ecology of human development. University Press. Cambridge. Harward.
Chafetz, J. Saltzman 1974. Masculine/feminine or human? An overview of the sociology of sex roles. F.E.Peacock. Itasca.
Damon, W. 1988. Socialization and individuation. Teoksessa Handel, G. (toim.) Childhood socialization. Adline de Gryyter. New York. S.11-19.
Delphy, C.; Leonard, D. 1989. Class analysis, gender analysis and

the family. Teoksessa Crompton, R.; Mann, M. (toim.) Gender and stratification. Polity Press. Cambridge. S.57-73.

Drotner, K. 1986. Flikkultur och ungdomsforskning - motståndare eller medspelare? Kvinnovetenskaplig tidskrift 7(1). S.4-13.

Einarsson, J. 1986. Kieli ja sukupuoli koulussa. Teoksessa Kiltit tytöt - kovat kundit. Raportti tasa-arvotyöryhmän, tasa-arvokokeilutoimikunnan ja kansainvälisen nuorisovuoden 1985 komitean 12.11.1985 järjestämästä seminaarista. Opetusministeriön työryhmien muistioita 1986:32. Valtion painatuskeskus. Helsinki. S.11-35.

Gabrielsen, E.; Mørkeseth, E.I.; Ramvi, ϕ.; Tofte, B. 1983. Mannens rolle i barnehagen. Stavanger Laererhøgskole.

Giroux, H. 1983. Theories of reproduction and resistance in the new sociology of education: A critical analysis. Harvard Educational Rewiev. Vol.53. No.3. S.257-293.

Haataja, M-L. 1992. Tasa-arvokasvatusprojekti neljässä kajaanilaisessa päiväkodissa vuosina 1987-1990. Loppuraportti 1992. Oulun yliopisto. Kajaanin täydennyskoulutusyksikkö.

Haavio-Mannila, E. 1971. Könsrollerna och samhällets förändring. Helsingin Yliopiston Sosiologian laitoksen tutkimuksia no 16

Haavio- Mannila, E. 1975. Convergences between east and west: Tradition and modernity in sex roles in Sweden, Finland and Soviet Union. Teoksessa Mednick, M.T.S.; Tangri, S.S.; Hoffman, L.W. (toim.) Women and achievement: Social and motivational analyses. Halsted Press Book. New York. S.71-84.

Haavio-Mannila, E. 1983a. Caregiving in the welfare state. Acta Sociologica 26(1983):1. S.61-82.

Haavio-Mannila, E. 1984b. Perhe hoiva- ja tunneyhteisönä. Teoksessa Haavio-Mannila, E, Jallinoja, R.; Strandell, H. Perhe, työ ja tunteet. WSOY. Juva. S.111-183.

Haavio-Mannila, E. 1993. Naisen työ ja asema hyvinvointivaltiossa. Suomen Kulttuurirahaston vuosikatsaus 1.10.1992-30.9.1993. S.52-57.

Helmadotter, A-M. 1989. Pedagogik för flickor? Socialtjänsten. Forsknings- och Utvecklingsbyron. FoU-rapport nr 113.

Hirdman, Y. 1990a. Genussystemet. Teoksessa Demokrati och makt i Sverige. SOU 1990:44. Maktutredningens huvudrapport. Stockholm. S.73-116.

Hirsjärvi, S. 1980. Kasvatustietoisuus ja kasvatuskäsitykset. Teoreettinen tarkastelu. Jyväskylän yliopisto. Kasvatustieteiden laitos. Tutkimusraportteja 88.

Hirsjärvi, S. 1981. Aspects of conciousness in child rearing. University of Jyväskylä. Jyväskylä Studies in Education. Psychology and Social Research 43.

Huida, O.; Smeds, R.; Haavio-Mannila, E; Kauppinen-Toropainen, K. 1993. Perinteiden pölyt ja uudistusten tuulet. Teknisten innovaatioiden ja sukupuolten työnjaon vuorovaikutus. Teollisuustalous ja työpsykologia, Raportti No 144. Teknillinen korkeakoulu. Otaniemi.

Hujala-Huttunen, E; Järvi, S. 1995. Finnish culture and early

childhood curriculum. University of Oulu. The Faculty of Education. Manuscript.

Huttunen, J. 1990. Isän merkitys pojan sosiaaliselle sukupuolelle. Jyväskylä Studies in Education, Psychology and Social Research 77. Jyväskylän yliopisto. Jyväskylä.

Hägglund, S. 1986. Sex-typing and development in an ecological perspective. Acta Universitatis Gothaburgensis. Göteborg Studies in Educational Sciences 55.

Härkönen, U. 1991b. Työkasvatusajattelun systeeminen tutkimus - Tulevaisuuden näkökulma pienten lasten työkasvatukseen. Lisensiaattitutkimus. Joensuun yliopisto. Kasvatustieteiden tiedekunnan tutkimuksia. No 38.

Julkunen, R.; Rantalaiho, L. 1989. Hyvinvointivaltion sukupuolijärjestelmä. Jyväskylän yliopiston yhteiskuntapolitiikan laitoksen työpapereita nro 56. Jyväskylä.

Kandolin, I. 1993. Sukupuolten työnjako ja kerrostumarakenne: naisten ja miesten työn laatu, palkka ja hyvinvointi. Sosiologian lisensiaattityö. Helsingin yliopisto.

Karjalainen, A. 1991a. Objektiivisen hermeneutiikan metodista - systemaattinen johdatus. Teoksessa Syrjälä, L.; Merenheimo, J. (toim.) Kasvatustutkimuksen laadullisia lähestymistapoja. Kvalitatiivisten tutkimusmenetelmien seminaari Oulussa 11.-13.10.1990. Esitelmiä. Oulun kasvatustieteiden tiedekunnan opetusmonisteita ja selosteita 39/1991. S.108-122.

Karjalainen, A. 1991b. Ammattitaidon myytti - rehtorin päänvaiva? Latenttien merkitysstruktuurien ongelmatiikkaa eräillä Kajaanin kouluilla. Oulun yliopiston kasvatustieteiden tiedekunnan tutkimuksia, 79/1991.

Karjalainen, A.; Siljander, P. 1993. Miten tulkita sosiaalista interaktiota? Kasvatus 4/1993. S.334-346.

Kauppinen-Toropainen, K. 1987. Ainokaiset työyhteisössä: haastattelututkimus sukupuolenmukaisen eriytymisen vaikutuksista työtyytyväisyyteen, psyykkiseen uupumukseen ja stressiin. Työ ja ihminen 1(1987): lisänumero 1.

Kauppinen-Toropainen, K.; Kandolin, I. 1993. Naiset, työ ja tasa-arvo. Työ ja ihminen 7(1993):lisänumero 3. S.191-213.

Kauppinen-Toropainen, K.; Kandolin, I.; Haavio-Mannila, E. 1988. Sex segregation of work in Finland and the quality of women's work. Journal of Organizational Bahavior 9(1988). S.15-27.

Keskinen, S. 1992. Pojat päiväkodissa. Teoksessa Huttunen, J. (toim.) Poika, poika! Näkökulmia pojan kasvuun ja kehitykseen. OY Yleisradio AB Opetusjulkaisut. S.38-49

Keskinen, S. 1993. Saavat lapset luistella ja kuvitella - lapsen arki päivähoidossa. Teoksessa Kauppinen, R.; Riihelä, M. (toim.) Lumiukko auringonkylvyssä. Näkökulmia varhaiskasvatuksen kehittämiseen. STAKES. Raportteja 88. S.70-81.

Keskinen, S. 1994. Tuleeko nelivuotiaasta pojasta isona täti vai setä? Sukupuolen pysyvyyden ja jatkuvuuden oppiminen. Teoksessa Riihelä, M.; Kauppinen, R. (toim.) Esiopetus linnunradalla. Näkökulmia varhaiseen oppimiseen ja leikkiin. STAKES-raportteja 163/1994. Gummerus 1995. Jyväskylä. S.115-121.

Keskinen, S.; Hopearuoho-Saajala, K. 1994. Pojat päivähoidossa. Kirjayhtymä. Helsinki.

Kärrby, G. 1987. Könsskillnader och pedagogisk miljö i förskolan. Göteborgs universitetet. Institutionen för pedagogik. Rapport 2.

Lahikainen, A-R.; Strandell, H. 1988. Lapsen kasvuehdot Suomessa. BASUN PROJEKTI, tutkimus lapsuudesta, yhteiskunnasta ja kehityksestä Pohjoismaissa. Gaudeamus. Helsinki.

Lahikainen, A.R. 1991. Dual socialization from the point of view of social competencies of five-year-olds. 2nd Fenno-Hungarian Conference on Developmental Psychology 2-4 April, 1991, Budapest, Hungary. Social-Emotional Development in Family versus in Pedagogical Institution.

Leavitt, R,L. 1991. Power and resistance in infant-toddler day care centers. Sociological Studies of Child Development, Vol.4. JAI Press. Greenwich. S.91-112.

Lehto, A-M. 1988. Naisten ja miesten työolot. Tutkimuksia 138. Tilastokeskus. Helsinki.

Lehto, A-M. 1991. Työelämän laatu ja tasa-arvo. Komiteanmietintö 1991:39. Tilastokeskus. Tutkimuksia 189. Valtion painatuskeskus. Helsinki.

Liljeström, R. 1982. Varttumisen ehdot. Tammi. Helsinki.

Liljeström, R. 1986. Sukupuolijärjestelmä ja naisen työ. Teoksessa Rantalaiho, L. (toim.) Miesten tiede, naisten puuhat. Yliopistopaino. Tampere. S.84-108.

Lips, H.M.; Myers, A.; Colwill, N.L. 1978. Sex differences in ability: Do men and women have different strengths and weaknesses? Teoksessa Lips, H.M.; Colwill, N.L. 1978. The psychology of sex differences. Prentice-Hall. Englewood Cliffs. New Jersey. S.145-171.

Maccoby, E.E. 1966. Sex differences in intellectual functioning. Teoksessa Maccoby. E.E. (toim.) The development of sex differences. Stanford University Press. Stanford. S. 25-55.

Maccoby, E.E.; Jacklin, C.N. 1974. The psychology of sex differences. Stanford University Press. California.

Marton, F. 1981. Phenomenography-describing conception of the world around us. Instructional Science 10 (1981). Elsevier Scientific Publishing Company. Amsterdam. S.177-200.

McBroom, W.H. 1984. Changes in sex-role orientations: a five-year longitudinal comparison. Sex Roles, 11. S.583-592.

Niemi, I. 1984b. Nuorten ajankäyttö. Teoksessa Nuorten elinehdot. Tilastokeskus. Tutkimuksia No 108. Helsinki. S.39-47.

Nummenmaa, A.R. 1986. Isän hoitorooli yksi- ja kaksilapsisissa perheissä. Tampereen yliopiston psykologian laitoksen tutkimuksia, 142.

Nummenmaa, A.R.; Vanhalakka-Ruoho, M. 1985. Toisen sukupuolen ammattiin suuntautuminen. Ammatti, sukupuoli ja työmarkkinat tutkimusprojektin loppuraportti, no 55. Työvoimaministeriö. Suunnitteluosasto. Helsinki.

Oevermann, U.; Tilman, A.; Konau, E.; Krambeck, J. 1979. Die Methodologie einer "objektiven Hermeneutik" und ihre

allgemeine forschungslogische Bedeutung in den Sozialwissenschaften. Teoksessa Soeffner, H-G. (toim.) Interpretative Verfahren in den Sozial- und Textwissenschaften. Metzler. Stuttgart. S.352-434.

Oevermann, U.; Allert, T.; Konau, E.; Krambeck, J. 1983. Die Methodologie einer "objektiven Hermeneutik". Teoksessa Zedler, P.; Moser, H. (toim.) Aspekte qualitativer Sozialforschung. Studien zu Aktionsforschung, empirischer Hermeneutik und reflexiver Sozialtechnologie. Leske Verlag + Budrich GmbH. Opladen. S.95-123.

Ojala, M. 1989. Early childhood training, care and education in Finland. Teoksessa Olmsted, P.P.; Weikart, D.P. (toim.) How nations serve young children. M: High/Scope. Ypsilanti. S.87-118.

Ojala, M. 1991. IEA Preprimary study in Finland I. Background. Recearch Reports of the Faculty of Education N:o 34. The University of Joensuu.

Pietilä, V. 1976. Sisällön erittely. Gaudeamus. Helsinki.

Rantalaiho, L. 1993a. Gender system and the finnish society. Teoksessa Rantalaiho, L. (toim.) Social changes and the status of women. University of Tampere. Center of Women's Studies and Gender Relations. Working papers 3/1993. Tampere. S.2-13.

Rantalaiho, L. 1993b. Sukupuolisopimus. Teoksessa Varsa, H. (toim.) Turhaa työtä, Suomi-neito? Naisten työ rakennemurroksessa. Sosiaali- ja terveysministeriö. Tasa-arvojulkaisuja, Sarja B: Tiedotteita 1/1993. Helsinki. S.1-8.

Rantalaiho, L. 1994. Sukupuolisopimus ja Suomen malli. Teoksessa Anttonen, A.; Henriksson, L.; Nätkin, R. (toim.) Naisten hyvinvointivaltio. Vastapaino. Tampere. S.9-30.

Rinne, R.; Kivinen, O. 1984. Kulttuuris-sosiologisia näkökulmia kasvatukseen. Kasvatus 15(4). S.252-260.

Saarinen, A. 1985. Vapautta naisille. Tutkijaliiton julkaisusarja 35. Helsinki.

Safilios-Rotschild, C. 1986. Sex differences in early socialization and upbringing and their consequences for educational choices and outcomes. Teoksessa Girls and women in education. OECD. Paris. S.30-56.

Sayers, J. 1984. Psychology and gender divisions. Teoksessa Acker, S.; Megarry, J; Nisbet, S.; Hoyle, E. World yaerbook of education 1984: Women and education. Kogan Page. London. S.40-51.

Sayers, J. 1987. Psychology and gender divisions. Teoksessa Weiner, G.; Arnot, M. (toim.) Gender under scruitiny. New inquiries in education. Richard Clay Ltd. Bungay. Suffolk. England. S.26-36.

Siljander, P. 1987. Johdatusta henkitieteelliseen pedagogiikkaan. ACTA Universitatis Ouluensis, sarja E No5. Oulun yliopisto. Oulu.

Siljander, P. 1988. Hermeneuttisen pedagogiikan pääsuuntaukset. Oulun yliopiston kasvatustieteiden tiedekunnan tutkimuksia 55/1988.

Siljander, P. 1991. Mitä on hermeneuttinen kasvatustiede? Kasvatus

1/1991. S.28-35.
Siljander, P. 1995. Teksti ja todellisuus - laadullisten aineistojen tulkinnan edellytyksiä. Teoksessa Eskola, J.; Mäkelä, J.; Suoranta, J. (toim.) Ihmistieteiden 1990-luvun metodologiaa etsimässä. Lapin yliopiston kasvatustieteiden tiedekunnan julkaisuja. B-sarja. (Ilmestyy kevään 1995 aikana).
Siljander, P.; Karjalainen, A. 1991. Merkityksen käsite kasvatustieteessä. Kasvatus 22(5-6). S.377-386.
Sinkkonen, J. 1992. Pojan sukupuoli-identiteetin muodostumisesta. Teoksessa Huttunen, J. (toim.) Poika, poika! Näkökulmia pojan kasvuun ja kehitykseen. OY Yleisradio AB Opetusjulkaisut. S.13-24.
Strandell, H. 1993. Yhdessä ja erikseen - sukupuoli lasten päiväkotimaailmassa. Teoksessa Korvajärvi, P.; Nätkin, R.; Saloniemi, A. (toim.) Tieteen huolet, arjen ihmeet. Vastapaino. Tampere. S.23-43.
Stranden, P. 1982. Nuori lapsiperhe. Tutkimus nuorten perheiden elämäntilanteesta ja toimintaedellytyksistä. Mannerheimin Lastensuojeluliiton julkaisu. Lapsiraportti A 38.
Suomalainen perhe. Väestö 1994:5. Tilastokeskus. Hakapaino OY. Helsinki.
Tarmo, M. 1989. Tavallinen tyttö ja tavallinen poika: oppilaiden käsityksiä sukupuolesta. Kasvatustieteiden tutkimuslaitoksen julkaisusarja A. Tutkimuksia 31. Jyväskylän yliopisto.
Tolkki-Nikkonen, M. 1983. Perhe-elämä, vapaa-aika ja tasa-arvo. Sosiaalinen aikakauskirja 6/1983. S.15-18.
Tornes, K.; Ve, H. 1980. Utdanner vi kvinner til kriselønsere i velferdsstaten? Sosiologi i dag 3/1980. Ss.33-48.
Uljens, M. 1989. Fenomenografi - forskning om uppfattningar. Studentlitteratur. Lund.
Uljens, M. 1991. Phenomenography - A qualitative approach in educational research. Teoksessa Syrjälä, L.; Merenheimo, J. (toim.) Kasvatustutkimuksen laadullisia lähestymistapoja. Kvalitatiivisten tutkimusmenetelmien seminaari Oulussa 11.-13.10.1990. Esitelmiä. Oulun yliopiston kasvatustieteiden tiedekunnan opetusmonisteita ja selosteita, 39/1991. Oulu.
Vehviläinen, M.-R. 1982. Sukupuoliroolit lasten päiväkodeissa. Tasa-arvoasiain neuvottelukunta. Valtion painatuskeskus. Helsinki. (ensimm. painos 1974).
Walby, S. 1989. Gender, class and stratification. Towards a new approach. Teoksessa Crompton, R.; Mann, M. (toim.) Gender and stratification. Polity Press. Cambridge. S.23-39.
Walkerdine, V. 1981. Sex, power and pedagogy. Screen Education 38. S.14-23.
Weinreich, H. 1978. Sex-role socialisation. Teoksessa Chetwynd, J.; Hartnett, O. (toim.) The sex-role system. Routledge & Kegan Paul. London. S.18-27.
Whiting, B.; Edwards, C.P. 1976. A cross-cultural analysis of sex differences in the behavior of children aged thee through 11. Teoksessa Kaplan, A.G.; Bean, J.P. (toim.) Beyond sex-role stereotypes. Readings toward a psychology of androgyny. Little, Brown and Company. Boston. S.188-205.

Willis, P. 1984. Koulun penkiltä palkkatyöhön. Vastapaino. Tampere.
Zavalloni, M. 1982. Ego-ecology: the study of interaction between social and personal identities. Symposium on Identity, Personal and Socio-Cultural. Uppsala. August 23-28.1982.